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ABSTRACT

This report examines the use of leisure time in North America. Some conclusions are as follows. Situational factors of association, frequency, location, and scheduling were found more highly correlated with the kinds of leisure chosen by adults than either census-data or immediate community variables. The type of activity is one significant element in the meaning derived from participation. Cultural activities, especially at home, are most likely to have recuperative values; sports to have meanings intrinsic to participation; entertainment and community activity to be relational; travel to be seen as a contrast to employment; and family activity to be role-determined. Finally, leisure is discussed form the perspective of "holistic" and "dualistic" approaches. In general, analysis of the findings of this research sequence suggests that leisure is neither fully integrated with work and family, determined by other institutional roles, nor separated into a segmented sphere of meaning and activity. Therefore, leisure may be approached as pluralistic with both variety and its own integrity of meaning on the one hand and with a complex dialectic of relationships with social institutions, immediate communities, and situational elements on the other. Leisure, then, is both existential and social with both the freedom and limitations implied by each. (Author)

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SITUATIONAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS IN LEISURE DECISIONS

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SITUATIONAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS IN LEISURE DECISIONS

All definitions of leisure include the central element of freedom of choice (Dumazedier, 1968; Kelly, 1972; Neulinger, 1974). However, social research has persistently attempted to identify factors that shape those choices. Social psychologists have concentrated on elements of the personality, personal value-systems, and self-perceptions (Neulinger, 1974). This approach had been given impetus by a sociologist who found such personality factors more determinative than social factors (Havighurst, 1957).

Sociologists, on the other hand, have focused on influences external to the person making the choices. The most common approach has been to examine the degree to which demographic and social position variables have determined leisure choices. A continuing series of correlational analyses have measured the relationships of age, sex, marital status, income, education, prestige and type of occupation, race, and other items available in census data to various kinds of leisure participation. The use of such correlations for prediction and planning by recreation providers has been a major encouragement to such research (Knetsch, 1974). However, results have been disappointing and prediction limited to special groups and activities (Havighurst, 1957; Kando, 1974; Kelly, 1976a).

More recently, social roles and immediate relationships have been studied as crucial to leisure decisions (Burch, 1969; Field and O'Leary, 1973; Kelly, 1974). Marriage, family, friendship associations may have a greater influence on the use of nonwork time than the more traditional social variables, especially when informal and

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everyday kinds of activity are included in the leisure spectrum. In England, Rhona and Robert Rapoport have combined the investigation of social roles and personal identities with life-cycle changes (1975).

A third approach has investigated the effects on participation of differences in access to recreation opportunities (Cichetti, 1972; Kelly, 1977b). Underlying such research is the possibility that access to recreation resources may be only one aspect of the situational determination of choices. Not only distances and costs of opportunities and the kinds of programs and facilities in one's community and neighborhood, but also the personal history of whom one meets and of the acquisition of interests and skills shape participation decisions. For example, moving near a lake and meeting a boat-owning neighbor may turn a hiker into a water-skier.

Two basic questions emerge from the research process: (1) What is the relative influence of the different kinds of factors--personality, social position, social roles and immediate communities, and situational? What kind of information is most useful in predicting leisure choices? (2) Are such factors best understood as "determinants" of participation or as elements in choices that are never fully predictable?

I.

This report comes at the end of a four-year series of studies of adult leisure in three North American communities and a number of reports that have examined measurement of leisure participation (1973), contexts of beginning activities (1974, 1977a); environmental influences (1976), and the social and personal meanings of leisure (1976b). While the research in each community has been more exploratory than definitive, a number of consistent findings suggest possible answers to questions about social and situational factors in leisure decisions:

(1) In none of the three studies was demographic aggregation predictive of the kinds of activities chosen and valued. Sex, age, marital status, income, occupation,

and education were not significantly related to either choices or perceived constraints. The inclusion of a broad and inclusive spectrum of informal, group, and familial as well as recreational and cultural kinds of activities in the suggestive list led to a stress on regular and relatively resource-free activity that is most common across population aggregates. A filtering explanation has been proposed that suggests that age, health, income, and access to resources may remove a portion of the population from the possibility of participation in activities that have high requirements for physical exertion, financial cost, or travel. On the other hand, everyday at-hand activities would not be expected to be predicted by age, income, or other filter variables.

(2) The most significant factor in the meanings, motivations, and satisfactions for leisure was found to be place in the family life cycle (1974, 1977b). The family is the prime associational and learning context for adult leisure. Both marriage and parenthood significantly alter the role-expectation contexts of much leisure.

(3) When the three communities were compared, the orientations and associations of leisure were not found to differ significantly (1978). On the other hand, differences in what people did could be largely explained by differences in resource opportunities.

One product of the third study is a revision of the classification scheme developed from previous theory and employed in the first two projects. This new typology divides leisure activities along two axes: meaning that may be primarily intrinsic or social and relative freedom from social constraint (1976b). (See Figure 1 for a diagramatic display.)

The 2 x 2 paradigm is not intended to present dichotomies, but relative differences in meaning and constraint. Relative freedom is measured by the perceptions of the influence on decisions of the expectations of significant others and the expected consequences of participation or non-participation. Meaning is measured by the locus

of anticipated satisfaction in doing the activity, in enhancing or expressing the self, or in relationships with others (1976b).

Using the revised paradigm as a means of assessing which orientations are most common in adult leisure, the over 1200 activities were classified into the meaning typology. An IF statement procedure sorted by predominant reasons, especially for those 819 activities for which the fullest orientational information is available (1976b).

Figure 1

PERCENTAGES OF ACTIVITIES IN THE REVISED PARADIGM

Meaning	Freedom: High	Freedom: Low
Intrinsic	1. Unconditional leisure 31% (371)	2. Compensatory leisure 5% (55); Recuperative leisure 25% (303); 30% (358)
Social	3. Relational leisure 22% (264)	4. Role-determined leisure 17% (210)

Complementary

(1) Unconditional leisure is seen as relatively unconstrained by familial and other social roles and chosen primarily for reasons intrinsic to doing the activity. It is the "pure" leisure of most classic theory.

(2) Compensatory and recuperative leisure are both chosen for reasons having to do with what the activity is expected to do for the self. Compensatory leisure is

recognized as a desirable contrast to work constraints and conditions. Recuperative leisure is also negatively conditioned by employment or other required activity to provide rest and relaxation rather than positive stimulus, growth, excitement, self-expression, or sense of accomplishment.

(3) Relational leisure (Complementary) is chosen with little perception of role constraint but rather with the positive values of building and maintaining personal relationships primary.

(4) Role-determined leisure (Complementary) also has relationships central to the decision but with a strong component of response to the role expectations of significant others, especially family.

Considerable mixing of reasons is characteristic of the choice of most leisure activities. Especially the two kinds of complementary leisure frequently combine anticipated relational satisfaction with a consciousness of potential disappointment and damage to the relationship. The classification is done on the basis of the ranking of reasons by the participant. The Revised Paradigm is first of all an "Ideal Type" delineating major orientations of leisure meanings. It is a useful classification scheme only when predominant reasons for selection can be distinguished from secondary (1976b).

As much leisure is chosen primarily as rest, relaxation, and contrast to work constraints as is done for its own sake. Somewhat more activity in which the associations are central is chosen because those relationships are satisfying than because of perceived obligation. The proportion of reasons selected supports the priority of positive relational satisfactions over negative role constraints (1976b). However, leisure meanings and contexts are neither unidimensional nor uniform.

Out of the three studies a number of questions remain to be answered. Among the most salient are:

1. Employing the "determination model" to attempt to examine relative predictive power, are social position and census, immediate community, or situational variables most useful? When activities are classified by form and by their meaning-orientation, what items of information best explain the choices?

2. What kinds of activities are most likely to have meanings that are primarily Unconditional, Compensatory, Recuperative, Relational, and Role-determined?

3. Leisure has been viewed as part of the total life meaning (holistic) and as separate from the major social arena of work and the economy (dualistic). Does analysis of meanings of adult leisure support holistic or dualistic approaches or suggest a third possibility?

II

RESEARCH METHODS

Unlike the interview data-gathering and interpretive classification development of the first two studies, the New Town data were obtained through self-administered questionnaires and the analysis reported here was completed entirely by computer. While some richness has been lost, possibilities of bias in interviewer technique and in analysis are minimized. The basic form of the questionnaire was developed from the interviews in the university town and revised on the basis of results in the mill town, the year of participant observation in the New Town, and a pilot survey of 40 adults in the New Town.

Sample: The 215 adults in the sample were selected by applying a table of random numbers to a six-month-old community directory of households. The intent was to include only those who had been in the community long enough to establish some leisure participation regularities. However, the highly transient state of suburban Washington households and gathering the data in the summer created a greater problem with sample loss than anticipated. Pre-selected replacements were used for the

43 percent that were not available. By summer 22 percent were no longer at the address, 7 percent refused because of an imminent move or vacation trip, and 14 percent refused for other reasons.

Nevertheless, the sample fairly represents the "New Class" population of government-related professionals, technicians, and managers that make up most of the population of Reston, Virginia. The New Town population is young with 60 percent of the sample between the ages of 21 and 40. It is highly educated with 65 percent holding at least one college degree and 29 percent a graduate or professional degree. Only 2 percent were in blue-collar occupations with over half professional, government-related technical, or managerial. The 56 percent female segment of the sample reflects the single-parent families with 5.5 percent divorced or separated and 9 percent never married. Almost half live in the clustered townhouses, nearly 30 percent in apartments, and only 22 percent in detached houses. Incomes are high with 73 percent of the sample having a household income of over $20,000 per year.

The population sampled represents a special and growing segment of the population in its educational preparation, employment, transience, and financial resources, but is not in any sense representative of national population distributions. Even with the striking similarities in leisure participation and orientations between Reston and the more conventional communities (1978), this ten-year-old planned community of about 28,000 residents is hardly typical of American communities.

Data-gathering: Self-administered questionnaires were delivered to the sample households by Reston students and retrieved at an appointed time. The social dimensions of decision and participation were examined for each of the three highest-ranked activities chosen from a check list of 47 cultural, travel, sports, entertainment, and other recreational kinds of activities. The same examination was then completed for the three "most important" from a list of 41 community, religious, family, home, informal, and job-related activities. Thus, for six valued activities

the respondent provided perceptions of relative value, location, association, frequency, duration, schedule, relation to employment, social constraints, and personal and social reasons for selection.

Data analysis: Cross-tabulations with appropriate measures of association, discriminant analysis using Wilk's Lambda, and an exploratory series of factor and regression programs were applied to the data. Only results that meet conservative assumptions about the nature of the data will be reported here.

The crucial and most complex aspect of data reduction and analysis has been the classification of activities. Some analysis was completed using the 88 kinds of activities from the original lists. In other cases, the activities were reclassified by form as recreational, cultural, work-like, and interpersonal (Noe, 1970; Kelly, 1974). Also, the revised classification scheme developed in earlier analyses (Kelly, 1976b) provided a promising way to look at activities by their primary meaning to the participant.

III

FINDINGS

1. Are variables related to social position, immediate community, or the leisure situation most useful in predicting leisure choices?

To begin with, neither this study nor any other has produced results that allow for great confidence in predicting who will choose which leisure activities. Once persons who are priced out by travel and other activity costs are removed, measures of prediction of choices are found to be quite low. Nevertheless, the relative power of different kinds of information may be compared.

To simplify the comparison, two classifications of activities are employed. In the first, they are categorized by their form and content as recreational, cultural, work-like, and interpersonal. In the second, the revised typology of meanings to the

is used.[1]

In Table 1, it will be noted that situational variables are most predictive of the activity choices and social position and census variables the least.

Insert Table 1 about here

In brief, it would appear that the predictive strength of both census-type variables and family variables is relatively low. The stronger association found in the first two studies between family variables and classification by relative constraint is largely washed out in the revised paradigm that adds the dimension of social or intrinsic meaning and the major category of recuperative leisure. Whether or not the adult is the parent of children living at home does influence perceived constraint as measured by the negative consequences anticipated were the activity stopped, but does not have the same level of association with the positive meanings and satisfactions anticipated in doing the activity.

On the other hand, with whom an activity is usually done, whether or not it requires advance scheduling, and where it is done are strongly related to the kind of activity chosen in both its form and meaning. Further, form of the activity and meaning to the participant have the highest predictive relationship as measured

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[1] In Table 1, two measures of association as well as the Chi square measure of statistical significance are displayed. Cramer's V is based on Chi square and may be used to compare non-directional degree of association when several nominal variables are involved. Its value ranges from 0 to +1. Lambda is a measure of the improvement in prediction of the values of the dependent variable when the value of the independent variable is known. The "proportional reduction of error" interpretation (Costner, 1964) represents the predictive power of the independent variable on the nominal dependent classification.

Table 1

ASSOCIATION OF POSITION, COMMUNITY, AND SITUATIONAL FACTORS WITH TYPES OF ACTIVITIES CHOSEN

	Activity Types					
	Form Classification			Meaning Classification		
Census Factors	Cramer's V	Lambda	X^2	Cramer's V	Lambda	X^2
Sex	.07	.00	NS	.13	.00	.01
Age	.06	.01	NS	.10	.00	.01
Education Level	.06	.01	NS	.10	.01	.01
Occupation	.09	.01	NS	.10	.03	NS
Employment routine	.06	.00	NS	.08	.03	NS
Housing type	.04	.00	NS	.05	.00	NS
Income	.06	.01	NS	.07	.00	NS
Immediate Community Factors						
Marital status	.05	.01	NS	.09	.02	.01
Family life cycle	.05	.00	NS	.11	.00	.01
Religion	.07	.00	NS	.07	.00	NS
Situational Factors						
Association (with whom?)	.31	.29	.01	.25	.10	.01
Requires scheduling	.62	.17	.01	.18	.03	.01
Frequency	.15	.11	.01	.11	.01	.01
Where participate	.65	.18	.01	.15	.01	.01
Where in the home	.53	.28	.01	.20	.09	.01
Where away from home	.27	.14	.01	.16	.08	.01
Form	---	---	---	.30	.12	.01

by Lambda.

What appears to be suggested here is that leisure choices are far more situational in time, place, and association than traditional sociological analysis has presumed. In one way, leisure seems to be more "free" from determinants as its definitions suggest it should be. In another way, leisure is less affected by other institutional statuses and roles than anticipated and more of a social world of its own.

Another kind of statistical analysis was applied to measure the relative strength of the various associations in stepwise order. The aim was to distinguish which items of information were more predictive of the kinds of leisure chosen, again as classified by form and meaning to the participant. This discriminant analysis employs Wilk's Lambda as the criterion for the stepwise selection of the variables most effective in distinguishing among the types of leisure activities. The technique is considered quite robust and suitable for non-metric data. It selects and orders those variables best able to predict the classification of further activities by the population sampled.

In this analysis, Lambda is a measure of the discriminating power that is transformed into a Chi square to test statistical significance. A selection of census, community, and situational variables from the contingency analysis reported in Table I are entered for both the classifications by form and by meaning. The relational power of usual association and the weakness of other variables is displayed in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

Once with whom the activity is usually done is entered as a discriminating factor, further information adds almost nothing to classifying an activity by its meaning to the participant. The frequency of participation is also significant when classifying the activity as recreation, culture, work-like, or interpersonal. Sex is the best predictor of the census variables, but adds little once association and frequency are

Table 2

STEPWISE ANALYSIS OF THE DISCRIMINATING POWER OF SELECTED VARIABLES

Variable	F value	Lambda	Sig. level
On Activities Classified by Form:			
1. Association	50.9	.11	.001
2. Frequency	26.4	.05	.001
3. Where participate	8.5	.02	.001
4. Family Life Cycle	2.4	.005	.05
5. Sex	2.1	.004	.05
6. Education level	1.3	.003	NS
On Activities Classified by Meaning:			
1. Association	44.1	.13	.001
2. Frequency	7.5	.02	.001
3. Sex	4.8	.014	.001
4. Where participate	3.4	.009	.01
5. Education level	2.4	.007	.05
6. Family Life Cycle	1.3	.003	NS
7. Age	1.2	.003	NS

entered. The F ratio measuring the discrimination achieved by the variable after the others are taken into account is impressively high only for association with both kinds of classification.

If only one item of information is to be known about how an activity is chosen, it would be with whom the activity is usually done. Along with the nature of the activity itself--whether sports, cultural, family interaction, entertainment, organizational, travel, or whatever depending on the designation employed, association is the key to "explaining" the choice. Leisure, then, does tend to be significantly social in its meaning to adults making participation decisions.

2. When activities are classified by their meaning to the participant, what kinds of activities are most likely to be Unconditional, Compensatory, Recuperative, Relational, and Role-determined?

Without exception, types of activities are disproportionately found in one of the cells of the revised typology. Cultural activities are twice as likely as expected to be Recuperative; travel more than twice as likely to be Compensatory; sports 60 percent more often Unconditional; entertainment almost double the overall proportion that is Relational; community activity over twice as likely to be Relational; family activities over double the Role-related percentage; and home and job-related activities half as likely to be Recuperative and more often Unconditional or Relational. Table 3 displays the breakdown by activity type.

Insert Table 3 about here

Cultural activities include reading for pleasure and watching television as well as concerts, theatre, and other arts. The recuperative function would reflect that rest and relaxation orientation of staying home quietly. Travel tends to be week-end and vacation "getting away" that is seen as a recuperative change from home and work.

Table 3

PERCENTAGE OF TYPES OF ACTIVITIES IN EACH REVISED ACTIVITY CLASSIFICATION

N = 1203

Activity Type	Revised Paradigm Type				
	Unconditional	Relational	Compensatory	Recuperative	Role-Determined
Cultural	36% (125)	5% (18)	5% (19)	52% (182)	2% (7)
Travel	27% (20)	19% (14)	12% (9)	35% (26)	8% (6)
Sports	51% (60)	13% (15)	4% (5)	27% (32)	5% (6)
Entertainment	31% (25)	39% (32)	7% (6)	18% (15)	5% (4)
Community	32% (16)	56% (28)	2% (1)	0% (0)	10% (5)
Family	19% (78)	31% (126)	2% (9)	9% (35)	40% (165)
Home	44% (26)	25% (15)	7% (4)	10% (6)	14% (8)
Job-related	37% (21)	30% (17)	4% (2)	14% (8)	16% (9)
	31% (371)	22% (263)	5% (55)	25% (304)	18% (210)

Chi square = 528. df. 28 p <.001

Cramer's V = .33 Lambda = .20 with RP dependent

Family activity with spouse, children, and other kin mixes relational and role motivations. Sports participation tends to be done most for its own sake--for what it does for the self and for the satisfaction of doing and mastering the activity.

However, any categorization tends to obscure significant differences among particular activities. Table 4 specifies the orientations of activities chosen by ten or more of the New Town adults as important to them.

Insert Table 4 about here

Examination of Table 4 demonstrates differences within some categories related to the form of the activity. For example, tennis is generally Unconditional in orientation while swimming is seen as primarily relaxation and recuperation for over half the adult participants. Cultural activities tend to be more Unconditional if they involve the effort of going somewhere on a schedule and more Recuperative if they are passive and at home. Activity with family is more lively to have role constraint perceived and activity with friends to be chosen for positive satisfactions in the relationship. As indicated earlier, family activity tends to mix the positive satisfactions and role constraints rather than consist of just one or the other.

3. Does analysis of the meanings of adult leisure support holistic or dualistic approaches or suggest a third possibility?

A holistic unity of roles would require that work, family, community, and leisure roles have an integrated pattern. It would further require that much the same kinds of satisfactions are derived from each kind of role (Havighurst, 1957). Several findings from this research place that unity in jeopardy.

First, 30 percent of the activities are defined by the participant as a contrast with employment, a needed recovery from the rigors of employment, or both. Rest and relaxation rank behind only "I like it" and two relational reasons for choosing valued

Table 4

PERCENTAGE OF ACTIVITIES CLASSIFIED IN EACH REVISED PARADIGM CATEGORY

ACTIVITY	UNCONDITIONAL	RELATIONAL	COMPENSATORY-RECUPERATIVE	ROLE-DETERMINED	RANK and TOTAL
Culture:					
Reading for pleasure	29% (38)	0% (0)	69% (90)	2% (2)	1 (130)
Television watching	24% (7)	0% (0)	76% (22)	0% (0)	14 (29)
Listening to music	29% (16)	4% (2)	66% (36)	2% (1)	6 (53)
Arts or crafts	58% (19)	4% (2)	39% (13)	0% (0)	12 (31)
Going to the theatre	50% (8)	6% (1)	44% (7)	0% (0)	(17)
Going to movies	10% (1)	10% (1)	80% (8)	0% (0)	(10)
Going to museum, exhibits	46% (5)	27% (3)	27% (3)	0% (0)	(11)
Other cultural or educational activity	48% (11)	22% (5)	30% (7)	0% (0)	17 (23)
Education-formal classes	74% (14)	5% (1)	0% (0)	21% (4)	(19)
Contemplation	39% (5)	8% (1)	46% (6)	8% (1)	(13)
Daydreaming	10% (1)	0% (0)	90% (10)	0% (0)	(10)
Travel:					
Foreign travel	36% (5)	7% (1)	57% (8)	0% (0)	(14)
Weekend or day auto trips	19% (4)	24% (5)	48% (10)	10% (2)	(21)
Other vacation	24% (4)	18% (3)	53% (8)	6% (1)	(17)
Other travel	30% (7)	17% (4)	35% (8)	17% (4)	18 (23)
Sports:					
Tennis	77% (13)	18% (3)	6% (1)	0% (0)	(17)
Swimming	40% (6)	7% (1)	53% (8)	0% (0)	(15)
Walking, jogging, etc.	44% (15)	6% (2)	45% (15)	6% (2)	10 (34)
Other sports activities	48% (26)	17% (9)	24% (13)	11% (6)	5 (54)
Entertainment:					
Hobbies: collecting, etc.	55% (12)	0% (0)	46% (10)	0% (0)	19 (22)
Eating out	7% (2)	44% (12)	33% (0)	15% (4)	15 (28)
Other games & entertainment	34% (11)	53% (17)	6% (2)	6% (2)	11 (32)
Family Activity:					
Family or household conversation	21% (15)	10% (7)	3% (2)	67% (48)	3 (72)
Play with children	12% (5)	7% (3)	9% (4)	72% (31)	7 (43)
Child-centered events	19% (3)	19% (3)	0% (0)	63% (10)	(16)
Family outings: picnics, etc.	18% (7)	21% (8)	24% (9)	37% (14)	9 (38)
Visiting family & friends	7% (2)	37% (11)	7% (2)	50% (15)	13 (30)
Activity as a couple: walking, shopping, etc.	20% (11)	11% (6)	27% (15)	43% (24)	4 (56)
Marital affection and intimacy	24% (29)	9% (11)	10% (12)	58% (71)	2 (123)
Other affection & intimacy	15% (4)	48% (13)	0% (0)	37% (10)	16 (27)
Community and Organizational Activity:					
Service to others	40% (6)	47% (7)	0% (0)	13% (2)	(15)
Religious worship	26% (5)	47% (9)	5% (1)	21% (4)	(19)
Other organizations	35% (6)	59% (10)	0% (0)	6% (1)	(17)
Activity at home:					
Gardening & yard care	44% (4)	0% (0)	33% (3)	22% (2)	(9)
Home & shop projects	50% (6)	0% (0)	25% (3)	25% (3)	(12)
Entertaining at home	47% (8)	35% (6)	6% (1)	12% (2)	(17)
Other home activity	38% (8)	33% (7)	14% (3)	14% (3)	(21)
Job and School-related Activity:					
Meeting friends	13% (2)	73% (11)	7% (1)	7% (1)	(15)
Other related activity	45% (19)	9% (4)	21% (9)	24% (10)	8 (42)
	31% (371)	16% (188)	30% (359)	24% (285)	(1203)

Chi square = 40 df 12 $p < .001$

Cramer's V = .11 Lambda = .03 with revised paradigm dependent

activities. Along with the considerable evidence beginning with Dubin (1956) that work is not the central life interest of most nonprofessional workers, it would appear that leisure and work are not generally equated. Rather, leisure is partly chosen because of the negative consequences of employment.

Second, leisure locales and companions are not related to work but to the family for most adults. Leisure, family, and friends are one realm of life space and employment another. Only 57 of 1203 activities were clearly job-related.

On the other hand, neither is leisure found to be a completely separate area of life space unrelated to other roles and meanings. Rather, leisure, family and friends as companions, community resources, the environment both indoors and out, and the varied cultural media are all part of the nonwork world. An almost infinite number of activities may be leisure in a vast range of settings. However, for the most part, leisure roles are intertwined with other nonwork roles, especially familial (Kelly, 1977b).

Further, some of the meanings and satisfactions that may be associated with work are also found in leisure. Mastery and accomplishment ("I like doing it well" and "I like developing a skill"), self-enhancement ("I grow as a person" and "It's healthful"), self-expression, activity, excitement, belonging, and service are all satisfactions in worthwhile work and in much leisure. Leisure and work companions may be separated for most in an urban, industrial society, but the relationships may be enjoyed in much the same way.

Finally, since situational rather than social position and even immediate community factors are measured as most strongly related to the choices, forms, and meanings of leisure, it would seem to follow that leisure is a part of life with its own shape and integrity. Leisure is not necessarily secondary to any other part of life even though it is also not unrelated to other roles.

Perhaps it is most accurate to understand the relation of leisure to work, family, and community as neither holistic nor dualistic. Rather, leisure is pluralistic in its varied and combined meanings, its forms, its locales, and, to a lesser extent, its associations. Not only are there many forms of leisure activity, but there are many orientations. The meanings of leisure combine intrinsic, self-oriented, relational, recuperative, and role-constrained elements--usually more than one and sometimes all five in one activity.

Pluralism implies variety without complete separation, multiple forms and meanings without conflict, and real choice without chaotic unpredictability. Pluralism does not deny the social, cultural, and environmental contexts of leisure that limit and shape participation, but does provide an image of rich variety in outward expressions and inward satisfactions. Holism may lead to monism and control. Dualism cuts leisure off from the social fabric of meanings and relationships and may lead to defining leisure simply as pleasure feelings. Pluralism, on the other hand implies the variety of opportunity and meaning that is necessary for leisure to retain its defining element of freedom.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

The most inclusive summary statement of the line of research for which this is the final report would be that leisure is found to be a complex and varied combination of activities, relationships, and meanings which are neither determined by social and environmental factors nor separate from them. Leisure is human activity that encompasses freedom and constraint, autonomy and multi-layered influences, personal identities and social roles, creation and adaptation, self-definition and situational limits, states-of-mind and physical action.

Neither simple definitions nor simple attempts to explain how leisure is determined by some other factor in the self or the society seem likely to succeed in producing a neat package of behavior called "leisure" that can be delivered to the

writers of textbooks or the providers of leisure opportunities. Nevertheless, within the conplex phenomenon a number of dimensions of understanding and explanation are emerging.

This report focuses on three of those dimensions:

(1) Situational factors of association, frequency, location, and scheduling were found more highly correlated with the kinds of leisure chosen by adults than either census-data or immediate community variables.

(2) The type of activity is one significant element in the meaning derived from participation. Cultural activities, especially at home, are most likely to have recuperative values; sports to have meanings intrinsic to participation; entertainment and community activity to be relational; travel to be seen as a contrast to employment; and family activity to be role-determined.

(3) Finally, leisure is discussed from the perspective of "holistic" and "dualistic" approaches. In general, analysis of the findings of this research sequence suggests that leisure is neither fully integrated with work and family, determined by other institutional roles, nor separated into a segmented sphere of meaning and activity. Therefore, leisure may be approached as "pluralistic" with both variety and its own integrity of meaning on the one hand and with a complex dialectic of relationships with social institutions, immediate communities, and situational elements on the other. Leisure, then, is both existential and social with both the freedom and limitations implied by each.

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